

Mid-term Election to the Lok Sabha 1980

The Seventh poll to the Lok Sabha which was a mid-term poll, has been concluded. The Congress led by Indira Gandhi, after being routed at the last poll of '77 and having been out of office for a brief spell of thirty three months or so has staged a come-back with two-thirds majority through this election.

The poll exercise was a costly one with hundreds of crores of rupees, black or white, spent on it either officially or unofficially by the monopoly houses, the industrial and the rural bourgeoisie and even by foreign powers. The entire burden of this had to be or will have to be borne by the poverty-stricken, half-fed, half-clad people of the country. Yet, the poll came not at their wishes but to satisfy the class needs of the ruling bourgeoisie.

What were the circumstances in which the election took place and what was the specific need the bourgeoisie wanted to serve and therefore pushed the country to a mid-term poll? The poll came at a time when million upon million of working people groaning under ever mounting capitalist exploitation in the form of rising prices of essential commodities, constantly increasing tax burdens, unemployment and destitution were giving vent to their deep-seated resentment spontaneously. At the same time, a beginning had been made by our party in organising mass movements on the burning issues of life in a few states. If this situation continued, there was a possibility of the people's discontent mounting up and getting out of control of the ruling class. In that event, the two-party system they were trying hard to establish in the country with the objective of confining the people's resentment within the bounds of parliamentary system would be jeopardized. Neither the bourgeois parties, nor the pseudo-left parties who are now part of the establishment and partners in this bourgeois parliamentary game would then be in a position to control and channelise the people's resentment. There was a possibility of the people rising up in movements and the revolutionary party SUCI becoming their

rallying point.

To meet the situation, the bourgeoisie needed most some sort of political and administrative stability. But the severe crisis that struck at the very root of capitalism had brought in its wake a serious crisis in the bourgeois parties, the central and the different state governments and the bourgeois administrative apparatus. Instability had gripped the political system and the bourgeois parties were in disarray. Even the coercive organs of the state had just been convulsed by revolt in the ranks of the police and the paramilitary forces. In this background, the Janata party became torn with squabbles between the self-seeking leaders greedy with lust for power. Large-scale defections rent apart the party, creating unprecedented political instability. The Charan Singh Ministry was a non-starter.

We could not bring out issue earlier due to unavoidable reasons. Delay is however regretted.

—Ed. Board, P. Era.

The ruling bourgeoisie wanted to strengthen the two-party set-up and stabilize the system through the mid-term poll. **Was this the people's verdict?**

The poll results would have the people believe that they have given a massive mandate in favour of a political figure and a party whom they rejected wholesale just about three years back for committing the most heinous crimes against them and the country, butchering even the minimum democratic norms, ethics and code of conduct.

No wonder Smt. Gandhi and her partymen will say now that there has been an upsurge of popular mandate in their favour. But what are the facts? What was the reading of the situation by her party and the other parties before the polls? Did she

not tell the press and the media that a coalition government after the polls could not be ruled out? Was she not carrying on covert dialogue with both Jagjivan Ram and Charan Singh through emissaries to prepare for the exigency of a coalition government? Not only the Congress (I), but also the Janata Party, Lok Dal and the CPI(M) gave vent in the media to their feeling and assessment that there would be no single party majority in parliament after this election, not to speak of clean sweep of two-thirds majority. If Smt. Gandhi thought that she had any chance to sweep the polls through popular support, would she have cared to come to electoral alliance with Muslim League in Kerala, with DMK in Tamilnadu and Pondichery or with Congress(U) in Goa? Did she not consider Raebareilly seat unsafe and contested from the "safe" Medak constituency in Andhra as well? It is precisely because none of the contending parties had hope of gaining absolute majority on their own that the Congress (I), Janata and Lok Dal—all threw policy and ethics to the winds and entered into diverse unprincipled hotch potch alliances in the different states with the sole objective of gaining a few seats more here and there in the mad scramble for power among the corrupt bourgeois politicians. The pseudo-left party CPI(M), in trying to gain a few more seats, entered into opportunistic electoral alliances all over the country. It had associated itself with the defector Charan Singh in bringing about the fall of Morarji Ministry on the ground that the Janata was communal. It declared support in its election manifesto to the Lok Dal-CFD combine and exhorted the people to do the same. But in practice it struck alliances with "communal" Janata in more states than with the "left and democratic" Lok Dal and also had alliances with communal and parochial forces like factions of Muslim League and Kerala Congress, AIADMK and Akali.

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Naked Soviet Military Intervention in Afghanistan

The recent military intervention in Afghanistan by the Soviet Union that led to the overthrow and execution of the President Hafizullah Amin and installation of Mr. Babrak Karmel in the Presidential chair has created sense of deep indignation and strong anti-Soviet reaction among the freedom loving democratic minded people of the different countries.

In a statement issued to the press on 2.1.80, Com. Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary of our party, the SUCI, said that the recent military intervention in the internal affairs of Afghanistan by the Soviet revisionist leadership is a clear case of flagrant violation of International norms and once again demonstrates its hegemonistic design which deserves outright condemnation by all democratic minded and freedom loving people all over the world.

Most of the Afro-Asian countries which apprehend this blatant intervention as to be a threat to their own independence and sovereignty, have in one voice condemned this flagrant violation of the policy of peaceful coexistence and the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of a country and raised the demand for the immediate withdrawal of Russian troops from Afghanistan.

It might be relevant to mention that the Soviet Union had to veto against a resolution on the said demand that was accepted in the UN Security Council, by majority of 13 to 2.

The intensity of the world reaction against this Soviet military intervention can be felt from the fact that in a special emergency session of UN General Assembly a resolution was passed demanding the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan by an overwhelming majority. The said resolution which was tabled by 22 states, most of them non-

aligned was adopted by the Assembly by 104 to 18 votes with 18 abstentions.

It is not at all difficult to realise the reason underlying this deep anti-Soviet world reaction centring the Soviet move in Afghanistan.

Though the incident of Afghanistan is not the solitary instance of interference by the Soviet revisionist leadership into the internal affairs of a country still it is for the first time that the nature of Soviet interference has taken the form of direct intervention by the Soviet Army into the internal affairs of a sovereign, independent nation.

Now facts reveal that since some years past, Afghanistan has been passing through a political turmoil. It is an industrially backward country where feudal face can be noticed even today in all spheres of the society.

Though an all out mighty struggle covering socio-political, cultural and economic aspects of the society for achieving the task of democratic

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Not only the political parties, but the press too, during the poll campaign, ruled out the possibility of a single party majority.

The people did not see anything like a "Indira wave" in the country as a whole, nor any signs of significant popular support to the CPI(M) in West Bengal. Therefore the election results have surprised them. Spontaneous questions are arising among them: Is this the true reflection of people's mandate? Has the election been a free and fair one or a manipulated one? During the previous few elections starting with the 1971 Lok Sabha Poll, the defeated parties raised charges about the rigging that was there, but significantly, this time, the sweeping results in the absence of any popular wave or upsurge being totally out of tune with the public opinion, the people themselves are questioning the fairness of the election, are talking about the election having been rigged.

People have experience of the kind of popular waves which can generate such sweeping poll results: the mass upsurge during the 1969 West Bengal Assembly poll against the undemocratic overthrowing of a popular government by the Centre or the unmistakable anti-Indira wave that swept the country during the 1977 Lok Sabha election. Is it to be believed that the legacy of trampling all democratic rights and norms during the Emergency, forcible mass vasectomy, taking away the workers' right to bonus, increasing the load of compulsory deposit scheme, increasing taxation to a crushing burden, allowing the monopolists unfettered licence to maximise profits, leaving the rural bourgeoisie, the 'jotedars', to concentrate even more land in their hands through further pauperisation of the peasantry—all these have made Smt. Gandhi so popular that the people have given her the massive mandate? What is CPI(M)'s record? They tacitly supported the

Emergency and Smt. Gandhi's 20-point programme designed to hoodwink the people about the fascistic path she was leading the country on to. By not organising anti-Emergency movement in West Bengal they left the masses unarmed, helpless before the onslaughts of bourgeois authoritarianism. The present government in West Bengal led by the CPI(M) has not raised even a little finger against the unprecedented rise in price of essential commodities. Public utilities like transport, electricity and water supply have virtually broken down. Kerosene, a basic necessity for the poor and the rural people, has almost vanished from the market. By crushing the workers' and peasants' movements with police lathis and bullets, this government is appeasing the industrial and rural bourgeoisie. Have all these made the CPI(M) so popular that they won a landslide victory in West Bengal in this election?

Election results of the SUCI candidates, particularly in West Bengal, have set the people thinking. Questions are being raised: Is the extremely poor number of votes shown to have been polled by them at all in consonance with the mass support and good will of the people for SUCI which has grown centring round its organised strength, political line, moral-ethical-cultural base and conduct of its cadres and their selflessness, dedication and honesty? Are the election results in consonance with the rising stature of the SUCI in the eyes of the people as their real alternative? The way in which SUCI candidates have been defeated by observedly large margins even in its highly organised areas have given rise to a host of such questions. As in the previous few elections, the various tell-tale irregularities and signs which unmistakably point towards wholesale, planned centralised rigging of the elections by manipulation of and tampering with the ballot papers and boxes

organised by the administration were all there this time too, only on a far more wide scale. After a lapse of several years, the votes have been counted booth-wise during this election. Thus the number of votes polled by a candidate in a particular booth becomes known at the time of counting. This has made the rigging all the more palpable. The people can feel the rigging, touch it with their own hands, so to say. Even in many strongly organised areas of the SUCI, in areas where no other party has organisation of any consequence, the number of ballots stamped in favour of the SUCI candidates which came out of the ballot box at the time of counting was meagre in many booths. In many instances, the number of votes found to have been polled in favour of the SUCI candidate is even less than the number of voters of a single family out of the many families that voted for the SUCI. People are coming to the firm conviction that the election has been totally rigged with got-up results.

Planned centralised rigging such as this, organised by the administration, can only be with the motive of fulfilling some cardinal objective of the ruling class, the bourgeoisie. What is the class motive of the bourgeoisie that impelled rigging to be organised so that a particular party sweeps the poll on the all-India plane while another does the same in a few States like West Bengal, Tripura and partly in Kerala when there is no perceptible swing even, not to speak of any "wave" or upsurge, among the people? Is it an accident that the bourgeois newspapers, reflecting the views and politics of the ruling class, which had earlier seen no prospect of any party attaining majority began to see pro-Indira swing all over the country just before the election and started penning articles and reports of strikingly similar pattern projecting an all-India polarisation favouring Congress (I) and a polarisation between the

CPI(M) and the Congress(I) in West Bengal? There is even instance of a leading Bengali newspaper reporting in its early morning issue about the organisational strength, goodwill and consequent favourable prospect of the SUCI in a constituency in West Bengal, but omitting just this portion of the report in subsequent issues of the same date! The forces of the establishment worked in unison—the bourgeois press projected an artificial polarisation, fabricated a "wave" that was not there, to create a mass psychology whereby the sweeping victory of the chosen parties through all-out rigging and manipulation by the administration in the interest of the ruling class becomes credible to the people.

The political situation

What have the ruling bourgeoisie achieved through this manipulated election? Smt. Indira Gandhi has been put back into governmental power at the Centre with two-thirds majority which allows her to amend the Constitution. There is no effective opposition in the Lok Sabha. Congress (I) under the leadership of Smt. Gandhi has been considered to be the best bourgeois alternative and has been provided with unfettered mandate to rule and stabilise the system in the best interest of the ruling class. Other bourgeois parties like Janata and Lok Dal remain as potential alternatives within the system. In states like West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura where, due to the left orientation of the people, the branded bourgeois parties cannot hold together the exploitative capitalist system and put a check to the rising discontent of the people, the pseudo-left parties led by the CPI(M) provide a better alternative from bourgeois point of view. These social democrats, the last prop of moribund capitalism, under cover of left and even revolutionary vocabulary, hoodwink the people and dampen class struggles and in practice mercilessly crush movements of the toiling people. They have proved their trustworthiness in West Bengal

and Tripura and have now been put into the government in Kerala as well. The rigged elections to the Lok Sabha have seen to it that they either sweep the polls or win in substantial numbers in these states. As the crisis of capitalism further deepens, people's discontent continues to mount and the branded bourgeois parties more and more lose efficacy in keeping the situation under control, a possibility may arise when these pseudo-lefts, in combination with some bourgeois forces, may have to provide a national alternative within the system. Hence the necessity of projecting them as big forces on the electoral scene in regions where they exist in strength. But even where these pseudo-lefts have swept the polls, the manipulated election has shown the Congress (I) to be a very strong contender so as to imprint it in the mass mind as the only alternative in these states. Administrative rigging thus seeks to stabilise the capitalist rule through two-party system by arranging the chosen parties to sweep the polls and by trying to keep popular imagination confined to the other political alternatives suitable for serving the system. As a corollary to this, it was essential to show the revolutionary party, the SUCI, to be of no significance on the electoral scene. When people are groaning under capitalist oppression and even rising in movements here and there, the big "left" parties like the CPI(M) and the CPI in their bid to become part of the establishment, have become anti-movement. Historically, SUCI is now the only force for organising movements on the people's demands and through these there is a possibility of its becoming the rallying point for the oppressed. But the ruling class is trying to project the pseudo-left parties as 'left' alternatives before the people. That is why, although the SUCI has not yet emerged as the revolutionary force on the all India plane, it had to be shown to be insignificant as it is a potential rallying point for the people

because, had the SUCI won even a few seats, it would have given a boost to revolutionary politics and would have made it much more difficult to project the pseudo-left parties as the 'left' alternative to the people. Therefore, the rigging machinery has tried to show that the SUCI is not a factor at all.

Smt. Indira Gandhi had during the Emergency tried to establish one party dictatorship, curbed every freedom and democratic right, gagged all opposition, concentrated power in the executive at the cost of legislature and was heading for absolute fascist rule. This suited the aggregate interest of crisis-ridden Indian capitalism as a means of achieving stability, albeit forcible, and passing the whole burden of the crisis on to the common man. The bulk of the bourgeoisie hailed the Emergency.

But the draconian Emergency measures antagonised the people, their resentment rose sharply and spontaneous movements and sporadic resistance started here and there taking mass form at some places. The danger of their growing intensity and scope, merging and culminating in revolts aimed not only against the ministry but having a disturbing effect upon the system as a whole became a possibility. The ruling class had not bargained for this. The need for giving the country's body-politic a new look became imperative, but the ruling bourgeoisie were in a quandary because during the long years of Congress rule, the necessity of a second bourgeois alternative had never made itself felt strongly and there was no second bourgeois party fit and ready for the job. But the aggregate interest of the ruling class prevailed. Smt. Gandhi had to go. The Emergency was lifted and the bourgeois alternative in the shape of Janata was formed overnight of disparate forces and propped up. In the ensuing elections, the Janata swept the polls and formed the ministry. The bourgeoisie thus sought to stabilise the system by introducing for

the first time in the country the two-party system. Great leader of the proletariat Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had, even before the Emergency, studied the chronic instability of the system and various attempts by the bourgeoisie to take remedial measures to stabilize the same, and observed that they would try to introduce two-party arrangement in order to stabilise the system and had warned about the danger this would spell for mass movements. After the 1977 poll the C.C. of our party, guided by the teachings of Comrade Ghosh, cautioned: The bourgeoisie "will now make serious efforts to more and more squeeze the scope of legitimate democratic movements of the people by arresting them within the bounds of parliamentary politics or at best allow restricted form and nature of mass movements which will be conducive only to the parliamentary political objectives and will take resort to diverse forms of fascism by maintaining, as far as possible, the facade of parliamentary democracy, even if under the garb of two-party democracy." ("A Review of the Lok Sabha Poll, 1977", 24.4.77.)

Our party analysed that the deep anti-Congress feeling of the people in which the bourgeoisie smelt danger carried in it elements of class hatred which ought to have been consolidated by building up mass movement for realisation of just demands and for making the people politically conscious. We, therefore, appealed to all left and democratic parties to utilise this excellent situation by building up genuine left and democratic front as an instrument of struggle, as against an instrument of manoeuvre in parliamentary politics, with a view to organising the toiling people in mounting surge of mass movements against the onslaught of capitalist class which was in disarray and severely hit by crisis emanating from the system. But our appeal to these parties, both before and after the election, went in vain. This was,

of course, one side of the picture. There was another side. The bourgeoisie was holding the bait before the leaderships of those parties of the prospect of their becoming national alternative, in combination with bourgeois forces if necessary, on the model of European social democratic parties or combination to wean them away from the course of democratic mass movement to the role of defender of 'peace', of 'law and order', of capitalism. The pseudo-left parties historically alienated themselves from the course of mass movements.

The Janata Government, however, could not stabilize the situation. It could not provide even marginal relief to people's hardships within the framework of crisis-ridden capitalism, took recourse to mounting repression on the workers' and peasants' movements and exceeded all previous records of brutal repression in a series of mass killings of the toiling people. Whatever goodwill or hallow it had disappeared in no time, people's resentment grew fast and its efficacy in serving the system diminished rapidly. The severe economic crisis in the country was reflected in deep political crisis within the party. Rivalry between monopoly houses and regional rivalries between the capitalists all found political expression within the party. These, combined with personal greed and lust for power of the leaders, intensified the squabbles and infightings within the party which ultimately resulted in large scale defection and downfall of the Janata Government. The bourgeois design for a two-party arrangement suffered a set-back. They were left with no viable alternative except the Congress led by Smt. Indira Gandhi. Significantly, at about this time the press reported that a very large number of industrialists hosted a reception to Smt. Gandhi at a 5 star hotel in Bombay and requested her to take charge of the affairs of the country.

It could not have been the bourgeois design to

crush Smt. Gandhi politically after her electoral defeat in 1977. Rather, she had the potential to come to the rescue of crisis-ridden capitalism in future, she was a bourgeois alternative. It did not surprise us therefore that after an initial lull after her electoral defeat, step by step her image was refurbished to the earlier stature by the bourgeois press. It is also significant that the Janata Government, instead of summarily trying her for the massive crimes against the people, kept the matter confined to relatively minor issues, legalistic quibbles, and ultimately allowed it to peter out through dilatoriness of legal procedure. Janata party did not fight her politically by exposing that she had been leading the country on to all-out dictatorship, to fascism, in order to coerce the people into accepting the whole burden of the economic crisis. A bourgeois party like Janata cannot be expected to do so. Nor did the pseudo left parties like the CPI(M) and CPI expose politically Smt. Gandhi's politics of concentrating absolute political power in the aggregate interest of Indian capitalism. Taking advantage of this, the bourgeoisie could place her before the people as an alternative. As against the squabbles in the Janata party, Smt. Gandhi appeared to lead a consolidated force which could make for stability. Her rehabilitation, needed by the ruling class, became a feasibility. At this juncture, the revisionist social democrats like the CPI(M) and CPI, to further their parliamentary ambitions, engaged in filthy defection politics and toppling the Government. They joined hands with Smt. Gandhi to replace the Morarji Government by Lok Dal Congress combination. So, CPI(M) and CPI, despite their show of anti-authoritarian protestations, actually aided Indira Gandhi's comeback.

In our 1980 election manifesto we warned the people that the fall of

Janata Government within so brief a period had no doubt given a jolt to the bourgeois design of installing two-party democracy but it would be wrong to suggest that they had abandoned that class design. Now, through the present election, they have brought back Smt. Gandhi in order to strengthen the *status quo* and the two-party system.

Prospect of bourgeois stability

In the present phase of third intense general world crisis of capitalism it is not possible for capitalism in a backward country like India to open the door of continued industrial growth in the face of chronic market crises. Consequently, not to speak of solving the basic problems of life, it is not possible for any leader, however illustrious and capable, to provide any significant relief to the masses within the ambit of capitalism. People are bound to be discontent and antagonised, economic crises are bound to recur and these are bound to reflect in political instability. Since these basic causes of instability are inherent in the situation, the danger of the ruling class openly taking the course of fascism in order to avert crises and achieve some degree of stability as during the Emergency, will always be there. The ruling class is trying hard to devise various alternative remedies for political instability. It is significant that, when the undivided Janata disintegrated, quarters close to the President Sanjiva Reddy were airing views in favour of a consensus Government headed by the President with distinguished personalities from different professions as advisors. The cue was taken up by the bourgeois press in which there was considerable debate on the pros and cons of the proposal, the idea being to get the people used to the concept. After some time, J. R. D. Tata, a dozen of Indian monopolists, publicly propagated the idea of presidential form of government as in the

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U. S. A. No doubt, as the crises continue, instability will grow and the ruling class will be hard put to work out newer methods of perpetuating their class rule if the two-party arrangement fails.

Another cause contributing to the political instability is the formation of coterie within the administration. It is no secret that this or that monopoly house tries to form clique or coterie in the higher echelons of administration and bureaucracy to further its own interest. Also, when a bourgeois or pseudo-left party comes into government in a State or at the Centre, it immediately forms a coterie within the administration to serve its own ends, trampling all democratic or administrative norms or ethics. During the last few years, it has been common knowledge that whenever a new ministry is formed, it tries to break the coterie formed by the previous ministry through transfer, demotion or even suspension or sacking of the key officials of the previous ministry's coterie and forms a new coterie of bureaucrats owing allegiance to it. For this purpose, dirty politics and groupism within the administration are encouraged and this or that official or group within the administration are appeased or pampered. This practice has made the higher echelons of bureaucracy meddle more and more directly in politics. This leads to intense politicking by the different groups or coterie within the administration to their own ends or the ends of their mentors even at the risk of creating political instability.

As the crises of the system are deepening, more and more power is being concentrated in the hands of the administration. This has tended to make the administration all-powerful. Administrative neutrality has been destroyed and the way been paved for the rise of administrative fascism. The practice of forming coterie within the administration has also increased the powers of the administration and

contributed to the growth of administrative fascism. It is worth recalling that during the tenure of the left governments of 1967 and 1969 in West Bengal, our party cautioned the pseudo-left parties about the danger of hobnobbing with the bureaucrats and forming coterie within the bureaucracy. We warned that such practice was sure to breed administrative fascism.

Present position is that the bourgeois and the pseudo-left parties who have been chosen as alternatives of the establishment or aspire to be so in future, knowing fully well that election results are determined and manipulated by administrative rigging, are all busy in currying favour with the administration, throwing ethics to the wind.

Rigging—the danger of administrative fascism

The situation has come to such a pass that under the smokescreen of 'revolution through ballot box' people's verdict is being reduced more and more to meaningless affair if not a complete farce. And this is done by administrative rigging which can operate only in a country where administrative fascism is also at work.

It is worthwhile to keep in record that all the political parties and their leaders accept that rigging has become an indispensable part of election today. The only difference lies in the fact that the beneficiaries on different occasions never agree that they have been benefitted and placed in power by rigging.

Our party led by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh gave answers to all apparent puzzles associated with a rigged election as far back as 1972. It was the warning of Comrade Ghosh that the election results were being rigged since 1971 with the help of higher echelons of administration and not simply by bribing the voters with money, liquor etc. or by forcible capturing of booths and forcible

stamping of ballots as were happening in the past. The new and more sophisticated method of rigging over and above the old ones, introduced since 1971 was to be called 'administrative rigging' whose principal features were printing of duplicate ballots and replacement of genuine ballots either through interchange of boxes or by duplicate ballots stamped previously in favour of chosen party or parties. It may be mentioned, in this connection that the elections to West Bengal Assembly held in 1972 when Sri Siddhartha Sankar Roy of Congress became the Chief Minister was declared by all the left parties of today's 'Left Front' as a completely rigged election. In protest against this all of us unitedly took the decision that the MLA's belonging to the left parties would boycott the Assembly during its full term of five years. Apart from gross absurdity of the result that came out of ballot boxes certain serious anomalies and irregularities like lying of ballot papers in the streets both before and after the poll, detection of ballot papers of different constituencies from the ballot boxes of other constituencies, broken seals of numbers of ballot boxes, presence of huge number of unsigned and even bunched ballot papers inside the ballot boxes, huge anomaly in the actual number of ballot papers obtained from the boxes with the number supplied by the presiding officer concerned, to mention only a few which helped the left leaders to conclude beyond doubt that the election was absolutely rigged. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh then warned that the clues of gross anomalies and irregularities which were left behind in 1972 elections and which helped a lot to prove the fact of administrative rigging may not be left behind in future with attainment of more and more expertise by the machinery concerned. He urged our people to see in it the danger of administrative fascism in our country with far-

reaching consequences. This analysis of Comrade Ghosh regarding the mechanism of administrative rigging has been corroborated by many political leaders later on. So those who mean or want to mean by rigging only the old methods of booth capturing and forcible stamping of ballots in favour of this or that party are either completely ignorant or want to confuse the public and divert their attention from the main issue with some ulterior motive. After this poll, Comrade Nihar Murkherjee, General Secretary of our party in his press statement has, therefore, demanded "a high power enquiry commission to make a thorough probe into the allegations raised by responsible quarters about all-out administrative rigging and various other malpractices in the last mid-term poll and mete out exemplary punishment to the culprits to put an end to all sorts of electoral malpractices". To our dismay we find no other political party to be serious about this demand of thorough probe to unearth the culprits although it is such an important question with which the future of parliamentary democratic institutions directly concerned.

Now it will be wrong to assume that it is always the party in power which is the beneficiary of this administrative rigging. We have previously analysed on numbers of occasions these questions in details and so we refrain from doing it here again. But incidentally, we may refer that in the parliamentary election of 1977 Sm. Gandhi made elaborate arrangement of all-out administrative rigging in her favour, and being sure of which she declared the election. But in a situation when the bourgeoisie was contemplating to prop up Janata Party as the second alternative to Congress with a view to introducing two-party system in our country giving up its age long dependence on one-party rule led by Congress—the same rigging machinery worked com-

pletely against Sm. Gandhi and went in favour of Janata Party throughout the country barring a few states in Southern India. In the South it was just the reverse. The rigging machinery, here, did not favour Janata party and went completely in favour of Sm. Gandhi. The reason behind this is not far to seek. The Southern Indian bourgeoisie which has contradictions with Northern Indian bourgeoisie on different issues supported Sm. Gandhi. This was responsible for the failure of Janata Party to get the benefit of administrative rigging in the states of South India.

In the light of the above it should not be difficult to understand what was the picture this time. Gripped in instability and steeped in crisis, it was only natural, under the circumstance, for the Indian bourgeoisie to chose Congress (I), as against any other branded party of the bourgeoisie to place in power on the all India level and select CPI(M) and its allies to run the show only in three states like West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura. The difference manifested in these three left-oriented states was aimed at not only introducing some elements of credibility but also for getting the parties like CPI(M) and CPI as partners in defence of moribund capitalist system by hoodwinking the people with their left verbiage.

It should be clearly understood that however strongly the West Bengal unit of Congress (I) may protest against this rigged election in West Bengal—the high command of the party can never allow a thorough enquiry for obvious reasons. Similarly whatever might have been the experience of CPI(M) about the poll result in other states that party can ill-afford to raise the demand of thorough probe in the fear of the game being exposed and brought to light. Therefore, it is the duty of the common people to raise their strong voice of protests against this administrative rigging and stand by the demand of thorough

enquiry raised by our party.

Foreign Interference

In our Election Manifesto we drew the serious attention of the people to the grave danger that is being posed by the interference in the domestic affairs by the two super-powers and more particularly by the Soviet ruling clique, from revisionist interest to spread its influence and hegemony in different countries.

We struck a note of caution that: "Not only the genuine Marxist-Leninists but all those who put their faith in mass struggle cannot but feel concerned at the principal threat and obstacle to revolutionary mass movements in our country coming from the alliance of CPI, CPI(M) and other domestic revisionist forces with their international patron—the revisionist leadership of Soviet Union."

Discerning people of our country have observed with growing anxiety what this interference means. They saw in the past that it is Soviet Revisionist clique that decried the historic railway strike of 1974 in our country and approved of the autocratic high handedness and brutalities of Indira Government defining the strike as a 'conspiracy of the right reactionary forces'. It also not only stood by but actively helped the dark Emergency rule of nineteen months. Today, that very revisionist clique of Soviet Union has showered eulogies to Indira Gandhi's victory by defining it: the victory of 'socialism' which was Nehru's dream! It thus shamelessly stands for social democratism which is nothing but the forces of fascism, the worst enemy not only of the revolutionary teachings of Marxism-Leninism but even of humanity and civilisation.

The bourgeois and pseudo-left parties, in order to manoeuvre and improve their position in the national politics, have at different times done lobbying with various foreign Governments, circles and agencies. In this fashion, they have opened the door for interference into our domestic

affairs by the two super-powers. The two super-powers, on their part, have lost no time in interfering in Indian politics and elections with money and other help. In the elections just concluded, unmistakable signs of intervention on a large scale by the Soviet Union in favour of Congress (I) and the pseudo left parties have been seen. In West Bengal, the CPI(M)'s hobnobbing with the British lobby, industrialists and multinationals is well known.

The CPI(M)-led ministry has allowed the British multinational, the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation, to expand its production and establishment. The British diplomats visit the CPI(M) office at Calcutta often to discuss, according to press reports, important political, economic issues and polling matters!

The people should guard against and fight back the danger of serious inroads by the two super-powers and the other imperialists through the opportunity created by the selfish, opportunist power politics of the bourgeois and the revisionist, social democrat, pseudo-left parties.

All out attack against ethics and morals

With the accentuation of crisis of moribund capitalism—its depth and sweep are encompassing every aspect of social life. Bourgeoisie enmeshed in insoluble crisis is buying its time by polluting morals and ethics in the society as it is known that no amount of economic and physical attacks can stop the march of the proletariat and the oppressed if they can retain sense of moral values and defiant spirit against capitalist slavery.

In the past, the bourgeois parties, in every poll used to bribe the voters with money, liquor, relief etc. The parties who called them leftists fought these heinous tactics by rousing the peoples' conscience and sense of moral values. Besides, the current of mass struggles was an useful deterrent to the heinous tactics of the bourgeoisie.

But an unprecedented

all out attack against ethics and sense of values was let loose at the sametime by the bourgeois parties, the pseudo-left parties, the bourgeois press and the administration during this election. The bourgeois parties like the Congress(I), the Janata, Lok Dal and Congress (U) and the pseudo-lefts like the CPI and the CPI(M)—all entered into hotch-potch opportunistic election alliances all over the country including alliances with even branded communal and parochial parties without any consideration of policy, principle or ethics and conducted the election battle on opportunistic slogans just to catch some votes or gain some seats. While these parties were all practising unethical politics, the bourgeois press, in order to defend a so-called polarisation of votes, floated the story of 'wave' or 'wind' in favour of this or that party. This, they did in furtherance of the interest of the ruling class. They peddled half-truths or even falsehood and tried to make unethical practices during the election psychologically acceptable to the people by posing that these are necessary evils, part-and-parcel of the election game. The newspapers, while discussing prospects of various parties in particular constituencies, have posed the issue even thus: correct and honest party line, capable and tested candidate and organisational strength—these are alright, but these do not really matter in the election! Can there be a more direct attack on ethics, ethical politics?

Among the bourgeois and the pseudo-left parties the CPI(M) perhaps takes the cake for unethical politics by even surpassing the bourgeois parties in polluting the moral atmosphere during the election. It is no secret that there was large scale manipulation of voters' list all over India. In West Bengal, the CPI(M) organised enrolment of hundreds of thousands of underage boys and girls and 'ghost' voters including many who are dead, in the electoral roll. At the same time, large number of probable anti-CPI(M) voters' names were struck off the rolls

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in all constituencies. This was done by engaging on payment unemployed youths as enumerators. To induce them to commit this fraudulent practice amounts to a crime against the growing generation and social morals. On the election day, the CPI(M) had to poll these false "extra" votes in their favour. This they did by distributing money, food-for-work payments and other facilities and by organising, at some constituencies, large fleets of trucks and buses for carrying these "voters" to vote from one place to another and even from one district to another.

The administration, the permanent organ of the ruling bourgeoisie, planned and executed the centralised, total rigging which gave rise to the pre-arranged, got-up results all over the country. In the process it utterly corrupted and de-humanised those who were used to run the rigging machinery.

In order to run rigged election and to make it socially acceptable, it is necessary to destroy the moral fabric of the people. To do that, it is necessary to attack all-out and try to destroy the only party practising ethical politics—the SUCI. If there is any party today which attracts the goodwill, high esteem and deep regard of the people by cultural-moral-ethical base and practice, it is the SUCI. This is an additional reason why it has been attempted to crush the SUCI electorally, to show it through the rigged election to be insignificant, a non-factor.

It is therefore the common people who will have to read through this heinous conspiracy of the bourgeoisie in which it is getting all help not only from the branded bourgeois parties but also of the revisionist and social democratic parliamentary parties. It is the people who will have to defeat the conspiracy and save the society from total disaster by organising them on the revolutionary political social cultural line that our party SUCI

alone is carrying to them through the great revolutionary and inspiring thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

Our political battle in the mid-term poll —people's tremendous response to our line

Amidst the dark clouds gathering in the social-political cultural sky of the country, the only silver-lining is the growing awareness of the people about the utter bankruptcy of the bourgeois and revisionist parties and the great appreciation and attraction they show for our party's line and teachings.

The bourgeoisie and their defenders may take pleasure that they could contrive to obstruct our entry to parliament, which would have placed all of them in difficulty. Our entry would have meant the entry of people's voice that would have given thorough exposure not only to the bourgeois conspiracy but the perfidious roles the so-called left and sham-Marxists are playing in aiding and assisting the bourgeoisie. But they have learnt nothing from history. They may efface the markings on ballots or change them, but can they efface or remove the political-cultural-moral values that the party carried and got imprinted in the hearts of the people? Can they stop the steady inflow of youths, students, poor peasants, workers, teachers and even the intellectuals who are finding their emancipation from the trap of falsehood and immorality by joining the vanguards of the Indian proletariat upholding the noble banner of Marxism-Leninism concretised in Indian soil by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh? No, the inexorable law of history is already at work. The country witnesses today a great dividing line between us and all other parties. People see it in their concrete experiences that ours is a party distinctly different from all other parties. While all other

(Contd. to page 8)

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(Contd. from page 1) revolution was yet to develop, still it should be noted that in Afghanistan people's national aspiration was gradually developing and they were getting organised to liberate themselves from the feudal bondage.

In 1974, as a culmination of a series of events, the world people witnessed the overthrow of monarchy in Afghanistan which was then subsequently declared to be a republic.

In the background of such a situation, when Afghan people's national aspiration was gradually developing, in April, 1978, Nur Md. Tarakki, being backed by the Soviet revisionist leadership, through a coup seized power from Md. Doud, the first president of the republic. This incident of assuming power through coup was eulogised by the Soviet revisionist leadership who called it 'April Revolution'.

This transfer of power through coup, with the help of foreign power for obvious reasons worked as an obstruction against the normal process of fulfilling the national aspiration of the Afghan people, which began within the country decades earlier. Soon the Soviet intervention and the oppressive rule by the new regime gave birth to revolt among the people. As days passed on, Afghan rebels more and more swelled in number.

In fact within a short time civil war engulfed most of the provinces of the country. Afghan rebels controlled much of the countryside; defections from the army and police to the side of the rebels became an everyday affair. More and more the ethnic minorities broke out into revolt against the regime.

In such a situation, Mr. Hafizullah Amin seized power in a palace coup in September, 1979.

Though there was no iota of doubt regarding the presence of Soviet hands behind this coup, but till then the Soviet revisionist leadership in their bid to interfere into the internal affairs of the country adopted anything

but direct military intervention.

But later when Amin was dislodged from power by Karmal and subsequently executed, a massive Soviet army which was airlifted to Kabul directly participated in the said coup d'etat. Sources revealed that Mr. Karmal who since being dismissed as Afghan Ambassador to Checkoslovakia had been in exile in Eastern Europe was flown into Kabul shortly before the coup aboard a Soviet plane.

So far the reports go, the people's insurgency against the Soviet installed regime of Karmal are mounting everyday. A large part of the countryside and many towns are under the control of the Afghan insurgents. It shows that however much the Soviet revisionists are trying to impose their revolution, it is facing stiffer opposition of the people from patriotic feelings. There is no shadow of doubt that it is the massive Soviet army, which is estimated to be between eighty and hundred thousands along with innumerable tanks and other weapons, that has kept the Karmal regime alive in the face of people's mounting upsurge against it.

Now, a critical examination of all these activities of the Soviet revisionist leadership in Afghanistan will once again confirm our characterisation of Soviet revisionism.

Time and again, our party under the leadership of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, one of the outstanding Marxist-Leninist thinkers of the era, observed that the Soviet revisionist leadership discovered a queer concept of revolution which they tried to pass for the theory of revolution—in reality it is an idea of implanting 'revolution' in a country by installing a chosen regime through coup d'etat by combining with military, bureaucracy or a section of the bourgeoisie.

Comrade Ghosh characterised this as the Trotskyite conspiratorial interventionist policy, which works as a

trend within modern revisionism.

Arch revisionists as they are, the Soviet leadership have forgotten even the primary lesson of Marxism-Leninism that revolution can neither be imported nor exported. We know that it was to establish this very lesson that first Lenin and thereafter Stalin fought tooth and nail against and gave defeat to the Trotskyite 'Theory' of permanent revolution which once gave birth to the utterly wrong anti-Marxist idea of implanting revolution in a country.

But the Soviet revisionist leadership, not only bade good bye to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism—as an inevitable outcome of their practice of arch revisionist theory of implanting revolution in a country but also, as a culmination of this process gave birth to hegemonism—which objectively means extension of their spheres of influence.

Now, we know that each and every phenomenon has its own guiding law.

So, once the idea of hegemonism was born of their practice of so-called theory of implanting revolution, it objectively became an inseparable part of the theory of implanting revolution and the Soviet revisionist leadership became its victim. Thereafter in their bid to implant revolution through intervention they were found to be in search of more and more improved hegemonistic means and designs.

While in the past they restricted themselves to their attempt to install a regime describing it as revolutionary through conspiratorial method, combining with a section of the military, bureaucracy and even handling the bourgeoisie of a country posing them as progressive, in Afghanistan they have gone to the extent of openly marching their army on the pretext of being invited. Thus they resorted to the policy of most naked intervention posing themselves as protector of a so-called

revolutionary regime though actually installed by them earlier through military intervention preceded by conspiracies and coups.

And what is apprehended in such a situation in a country, has actually happened in Afghanistan. Prior to the military intervention, continuous Soviet interferences in the country gave birth to resentment against the Soviet Union, among the patriotic elements and forces. The military intervention in the country, has not only intensified their indignation against the Soviet revisionist leadership—rather they now look upon the Soviet revisionist leadership just as the people usually look upon the colonial forces. The forces of reaction, religious fanatics, the outmoded conservative elements i.e. all those forces which obstruct social progress and people's emancipation from the feudal bondage have got an upper hand. Playing with the people's spontaneous reaction against the military intervention, these forces which still have much influence in the country have come to the fore in the leadership of the people's mounting upsurge against the Soviet military intervention.

Some people in their bid to support the Soviet move tried to justify it by claiming that such an action was necessary as the effort to change the face of feudal Afghanistan was resisted by the reactionaries who were not prepared to give up their age-old privileges.

These people in their zeal to support their mentor, the Soviet revisionist leadership, have forgotten the primary teaching of Marxism-Leninism that the feudal face of a country can be changed only by the people of that country through mass struggle and not by a conspiratorial method. While engaging themselves in the struggle, the people uplift themselves, socially, politically and culturally and thereby also advance the country through struggle in the path of progress. It is only politi-

cally conscious people who can resist the forces of reaction and protect the progress that has been achieved. No foreign interference—not to speak of military intervention can help bring about such a change. Rather on the contrary the Soviet intervention as we have mentioned earlier has given scope to these forces to strengthen their grip over the people and the country.

Again, the defenders of the Soviet move have tried to justify the action by raising the plea that the reactionaries in Afghanistan were helped by the US imperialists in collusion with the military dictatorship of Pakistan. There is no doubt about it, as to the arch anti-people character of these moves of the US imperialists and the military dictatorship of Pakistan. But, is it something unnatural on the part of the imperialists and their fellow travellers? All of us know that history is replete with instances of their heinous design of intrigue and interferences into the internal affairs of different countries. And moreover, the imperialists need no plea at all to undertake all these nefarious games aimed at subjugating and exploiting the people. But it is again the people of these countries who through their struggle ultimately succeed to frustrate all these heinous imperialist designs of interference and intrigue.

Role of the revolutionaries in people's fight against imperialists

The revolutionary forces of other countries and the Socialist states must of course not remain as passive spectators. In support of the cause of the people fighting against the imperialist forces, they must take every opportunity to unmask and corner the imperialists. By mobilising and mounting world opinion against them and by putting effective diplomatic pressure through diplomatic channel they must try to put the imperialists in the tight corner and thereby thrust upon them

the principle of non-interference into the internal affairs of a country. But the revolutionaries do not intervene into the internal affairs of a country, make the path easier for the imperialist forces to penetrate into the people's struggle, frustrate it and thereby establish their hegemony in the country.

And what is our experience of the Soviet revisionist leadership? During the struggle of the people in Angola and Portugal, it is they who gave good bye to the principle of non-interference into the internal affairs of a country and made the path easier for the US imperialists to penetrate into the struggles of the people of these countries and perpetrate their heinous conspiratorial activities against them. And in Afghanistan, this time they have moved some steps ahead. Through military intervention there, they have provided a golden opportunity to the US imperialists to fish in the troubled water in their bid to satisfy their imperialist designs.

Thus, taking advantage of growing apprehension in the neighbouring countries, which consider the Soviet action as a threat to peace, security, stability and sovereignty and so think of strengthening their military might, the US imperialists have already offered 400 million dollar of military aid to Pakistan.

US design to fish in the troubled water

So, the situation has already provided the US imperialists with the scope to release some of their stockpiles. Their move will no doubt help to add to the tension in the neighbouring region. And more the tension will be aggravated and peace will be endangered more the neighbouring countries will seek to buttress themselves militarily, and merrier will be the US imperialists, as this will provide them with the opportunity to continuously release their stockpiles thereby help to provide their crisis-

ridden imperialist war economy with fresh lease of life.

Apart from this, there are some aspects of the issue, which too are matters of serious concern to the world people.

When the freedom loving democratic minded people of the world, in one voice are condemning the Soviet action, the USA too are trying to join in unison so as to pose as the champion of freedom and democracy, and friend of the world people. Again, for sometime past, since their debacle in Indochina, the US imperialists were lying low in the arena of international politics. But, thanks to the utterly wrong West Asian policy of the Soviet revisionist leadership, the US imperialists got a scope to raise their head in the international politics, and the Camp David Summit was a glaring example of their successful venture to move to the forefront in the international politics.

And this time, the flagrant violation of the principle of non-interference into the internal affairs of a sovereign people by the Soviet revisionist leadership has given them ample scope to step ahead so as to hold a dominating position in the arena of international politics.

So, we urge upon the world people and more so to the communists of all countries to correctly realise the danger posed by the US imperialists on peace and the security and sovereignty of the people of different countries. Even a slight mistake on their part in correctly ascertaining the gravity of the danger posed by the US imperialists may bring about a disaster on the world people.

We must not discharge our responsibility simply by condemning the role and activities of the US imperialists. In each and every country, the revolutionaries must have to organise the people against this newer aggressive moves of the US imperialists and give a crushing defeat to all their conspiratorial designs that they hatch against the

freedom loving people of different countries.

Attitude of the India Government

Any discussion on Afghan issue, one must agree, cannot be concluded without reflecting on the attitude of the India Government. It was a fact that when most of the Afro-Asian countries unequivocally condemned the Soviet military action and demanded the withdrawal of Soviet army from Afghanistan, the India Government felt shy even to criticise such a naked attempt to impose one's will on a sovereign country.

Rather, on the contrary, Mrs. Gandhi by observing that the 'Soviet action is not one-sided' tried to give an excuse for the military intervention. A similar tone was also reflected by the Indian representative at the UN assembly when he observed that the Soviet army entered Kabul on the request of the 'government' of Afghanistan and they would pull out when asked to do so.

But significantly enough Mrs. Gandhi after meeting the emissary from U.K. was found to observe that she did not support the armed Soviet presence in Afghanistan.

Now to correctly realise the attitude of the Indian bourgeoisie underlying this apparent contradiction in their stand on Afghan issue one must have to take into account certain facts.

One must understand that the Indian national bourgeoisie is an aspirant bourgeoisie. They have their own aspirations to fulfil for emerging as a strong capitalist power. So they too like the other capitalist-imperialist powers desire to extend their spheres of influence. And with this end in view, to fulfil their own class interest, they are often found to play between the superpowers. At times during playing the superpower game they may even reflect a pro-Soviet or pro-US stance but still they are not a lackey of either of them.

Their role and activities on Afghan issue clearly manifest that though their apprehension of the grow-

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ing US-Pakistan axis has pushed them a bit towards the Soviet revisionist leadership, yet this time too their main object is to play the superpower game so as to earn maximum advantage out of it.

But we know that each and every game has its own rule. So, whenever they try to play between the super powers, solely for harvesting maximum dividend out of it—as an outcome of this diplomatic game, they become somewhat circumscribed by the prevailing situation and have to even swallow bitter pills which normally they would have refused to accept.

The same thing has happened this time too.

The Indian bourgeoisie do know it well that the armed Soviet presence in a country with so much geopolitical importance like Afghanistan (it is a country with common borders with Iran, USSR, China and Pakistan. India is also not far off from its border) would stand in their way of extending their own spheres of influence in the subcontinent and the neighbouring regions. It is therefore quite likely that they would not be much in favour of the armed presence of Soviet Union in Afghanistan (Mrs. Gandhi's statement that she did not support armed presence of Soviet Union in Afghanistan is no doubt very much significant.)

But despite this fact, as their apprehension of the growing US-Pakistan axis have pushed them a bit to the Soviet revisionist leadership they have to refrain from raising any voice of protest against the Soviet action—though they realise that the presence of Soviet army in Afghanistan would stand in the way fulfilling their own class aspirations.

At the same time by giving expression that they believe in the assurance that Soviet Union would withdraw their troops from Afghanistan, they are using it as a lever against US in order to frustrate the US Pakistan alliance. Simultaneously

without embittering the relationship India Government is using the possible US-Pakistan alliance as a lever to pursue USSR to vacate Afghanistan. So, to give the impression of its efforts to 'diffuse' the tension, it is urging the USSR to vacate as early as possible and is sending emissaries to 'non-aligned' group of countries to maintain its image. The exercise is not an easy one, it is beset with difficulties and contradictions. Thus they are also trying to maintain the old friendly relation with Afghan Government that may come to stay.

Lastly before concluding we like to reflect for a while on the attitudes of the CPI and CPI(M) on the issue of Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan.

It is to be noted that both of them have lent support to the naked Soviet military intervention on a sovereign people.

It is not at all astonishing that the CPI which is directly attached to the apron-string of the Soviet revisionist leadership and which views the world phenomena through the eye of the said leadership will lend support to the present move of the Soviet revisionist leadership. In the past as well they lent support to similar Soviet moves aimed at expanding their spheres of influence. The role of the CPI(M) too has not astonished us at all. For some times past, the CPI(M) was observed to be moving closer to the Soviet revisionist leadership. And on Afghan issue they have totally identified themselves with Soviet revisionism. In their frantic bid to justify the Soviet move, the CPI(M) politburo stated that the increasing counter revolutionary activities of the reactionary forces backed by the US imperialists and the military dictatorship of Pakistan necessitated the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan.

Earlier, we have critically examined all these view points of the protagonists of the Soviet move on the anvil of the scientific teachings of Marxism-Leninism and shown that such naked military intervention instead of arresting the reactionary forces is bound to help them to extend their counter revolutionary activities within the country.

From their role and (Contd. to page 8)

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activities, any sensible man is bound to conclude that the CPI(M) which claim to be a Marxist-Leninist party under the smoke-screen of queer logic have lent support to the Trotskyite conspiratorial design of a super power aimed at fulfilling its hegemonistic aspirations.

We hope, the rank and file of the CPI(M) will ponder over it.

Finally, we appeal to the people of all countries to condemn and stand against this naked Soviet military onslaught mounted on the people of a sovereign country, violating all international norms and principle that guide the fraternal relation between the sovereign people of different

countries.

We appeal to the revolutionaries of all countries to organise people's opinion in their respective countries against this naked military intervention on the sovereign people of Afghanistan.

We urge upon the left and democratic forces and the rank and file of all left parties of our country, who desire to uphold the noble banner of communism, cherish freedom, democracy, sovereignty and the right of the sovereign people to decide their own destiny without foreign interference on the one hand to condemn this naked Soviet military intervention and in tune with the voice of the world people to organise

the voice of our people against this naked Soviet action so as to compel the Soviet revisionist leadership to withdraw their hands from Afghanistan, and on the other hand to keep constant vigilance on the machinations of the US imperialists aimed at perpetuating heinous designs of intrigue and interference against the people of different countries.

Last but not least, we urge upon them to close their ranks against all these forces which taking the advantage of the world reaction against the present Soviet move in Afghanistan have launched all their efforts to malign the nobility of communism.

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parties have chosen the path of subservience to bourgeois class interest this is the only party standing as the rock defending the mass and class struggle, leftism and the revolutionary goal and objective of the working people. While entering into electoral battle we never forgot for a moment the great revolutionary teaching of Comrade Ghosh.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh taught us:

"So long the revolutionary situation has not matured, whether the people want election or not, welcome it or not—people are dragged into it, they get entangled in it. A revolutionary situation means, when the people have thoroughly realised the utter futility of the parliamentary system—that election will bring no good to the people, they are well organised and organisationally they take the decision to reject it. They reject, not from a negative approach but from a positive approach—they are all set for an uprising: when the cry is 'No election—Seizure of power!' Then and then

only election is of no use.

"...When the proletariat, from revolutionary objective are left with no other alternative than to participate in the election battle to be with the masses, they do so on the basis of a definite revolutionary base political line of the proletariat. They also try utmost to win as many seats as possible. But never the central focal point of their objective can be anyhow to grab maximum seats. Their focal point is to educate the people to fight an election battle on the basis of mass revolutionary line and following this if they can win maximum seats—so much the better! If they do not win maximum seats, even not a single seat—no matter. But the central focal point can never be to anyhow grab some seats."

People bear witness that ours was the only party that utilised the election as a movement for educating the masses with proletarian political approach and angularity, ethics and culture. Only the cadres of our party were not like the paid workers of other parties. Their selflessness, sincerity, devotion to duty and dedi-

cation to revolutionary cause brought forth spontaneous appreciation of the people. Every meeting of our party was a matter of great attraction for it was not for dishing out slanders and filthy comments or cheap stunts but for awakening the political consciousness of the masses and infusing them with higher sense of moral values and culture. People wept at the meetings finding their agonies coming out through the voice of this party. They felt the identification—identification of their cause and interest with those of this party. They have accepted our politics, the only thing now they are to do is to build up their organisation on the basis of the politics of this party, the revolutionary party of the Indian proletariat. For this, Comrade Ghosh's revolutionary thoughts will be their unfailing guide.

Our appeal

In the present phase of democratic movement, a genuine left and democratic front is a burning necessity in the interest of toiling people for developing mighty mass movements, for foiling the designs and machinations

Red Salute Comrade B. Jena

Calcutta, 7th February '80:

On 5th February last, Comrade B. Jena, Member of the Orissa State Committee, SUCI and Secretary, Orissa State Committee, UTUC (Lenin Sarani) breathed his last. He was suffering from Brain Cancer for a long time.



Imbued with the great revolutionary life and teachings of Comrade

Shibdas Ghosh, Comrade Jena kept himself engaged till the last breath of his life, in the struggle to build up revolutionary movement of our country. He started his struggling political career from his student life and was arrested by the Congress Government for his participation as a student organiser in the anti-Bengal-Bihar Merger movement. In the historic Food Movement of 1959 he was brutally tortured by the police.

For his militant, uncompromising role as an organiser of democratic mass movements in general and workers' movements of Orissa and especially of Rourkella in particular he was imprisoned and tortured several times by the police. During the historic Railway Strike of 1974 he was imprisoned and kept confined under MISA by the Indira Government.

Comrade Jena was the General Secretary of Rourkella Workers' Union (Steel Plant) and Rourkella Engineering Workers' Union. In innumerable other organisations like Hindustan Coal Mines Workers' Union, Orissa Ceramic Workers' Union, Lathikata Refractory Workers' Union, Orissa Cement Workers' Union etc. he held the post of either President or Secretary.

The demise of Comrade B. Jena is not only a big loss to our party but to the working class movement of our country and especially of Orissa. Party dipped the Red banner in memory of the departed Comrade. A memorial meeting was also held at Party's Central Office, Calcutta, on 6th. Thousands of working people in Orissa paid their respectful homage to their beloved departed leader and comrade. They also joined in a big funeral procession on 6th, led by the State Secretary, Comrade Tapas Dutta.

of the oppressor ruling class and for resisting fascist onslaughts. We appeal to the leaderships of the left parties to retrace their steps and return to the line of mass movement. We appeal to the rank and file and supporters of the left parties: Do you want this opportunistic jockeying for power and position within the bourgeois parliamentary orbit that is rampant today in the name of Leftism? Do you want blunting of the class struggles and appeasing the ruling class and their administration for parliamentary gains? Do you want only occasional show

of movements to strengthen the bargaining position vis-a-vis the ruling bourgeoisie and their administration, or do you want to create an upsurge of mass movements preparatory to the people's struggle for emancipation from the shackles of the oppressive system?

We earnestly appeal to you to force your leaderships to shun the anti-people path, to stop whipping up blind anti-SUCI tirade, and come forward to build up a genuine left and democratic front with a concrete programme and code of conduct as an instrument of struggle.

Editor-in-Chief—NIHAR MUKHERJEE